PUBLIC DINNER TO M. KOSSUTH.

The Dinner given by a large number of the Members of the two Houses of Congress to M. Louis Kossuth took place last Wednesday evening at the National Hotel-the room being that usually appropriated to the Ladies' Ordinary. The number present, as nearly as we could calculate, was about two hundred and fifty. There were two rows of tables extending the length of the room, in the centre of which was an elevated table. The Hon. WM. R. KING, of Alabama, President of the Senate, presided. On his right sat M. Louis Kos-SUTH, the guest of the company, and on his left the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State. On the right of M. Kossuth, at the same table, sat the Hon. LINN BOYD, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Near this elevated table, on each side, we noticed a number of distinguished guests, among whom were Hon. THOMAS CORWIN, Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. ALEX. H. H. STUART, Secretary of the Interior, and Judge WAYNE, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The room was tastefully decorated, being hung with a variety of flags, among the most prominent of which we observed the "Stars and Stripes," the "British Union Jack," and the "Turkish Crescent."

The Marine Band from the Navy Yard was present, and played several overtures and other pieces at intervals during the dinner.

The festivities commenced at seven o'clock, and included all that could be desired by the most fastidious appetite.

A few minutes after eight o'clock, the cloth having been removed, a large number of Ladies were admitted, for the purpose of listening to the speeches Republic's guest, precisely because he'is persecuted; helpwhich were expected to be delivered.

The President for the evening then requested gentlemen to fill their glasses for the first toast, which was, "The President of the United States." This was received with three hearty cheers and loud applause.

Mr. WEBSTER rose to respond to the toast, and said : I am here to-night, Mr. President, with other Heads of Departments who belong to the Executive administration of the Government, and who are the confidential councillors of the President. I rise on their behalf, as well a on my own, to tender to the company our thanks for the manner in which the health of the President has been re-I assure you, sir, and all present, that in kindness and good wishes towards the guest of this occasion, and in attachment to the great principles of political liberty and national independence, [applause,] there is no man who partakes in a higher degree than the President of the Uni-ted States in the general feeling of this vast community. [Applause,]

The President then announced the second toast: "THE JUDICIARY OF THE UNITED STATES: The expounder of the Constitution and the bulwark of liberty, regulated by law."

Judge WAYNE, of the Supreme Court of the United States, replied as follows:

It is only right, Mr. President, that I should respond to the toast which has been given, by returning my thanks for the notice which has been taken of one of the departments of the Government of which I am a member, and for the manner in which it has been received here. It would not be right, however, for me to trespass upon the time of this company by alluding to any of those historical incidents which have induced you to give a complimentary dinner to the distinguished stranger who is with us: bu it will be right for me to respond in a sentiment, which I humbly beg you to receive. I give you, gentlemen-"Constitutional liberty to all the nations of the earth

supported by Christian faith and the morality of the Bible. The toast was received with enthusiastic applause. The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, I now give you-

"THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES: The home squadran every where. The glory which has made it so is illustrated when its flag in a foreign sea gave liberty and protection to the Hungarian Chief."

The applause with which the toast was received having subsided, Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, rose all these facts! They will go down to posterity in the logiand said :

"Mr. President: In the absence of the senior officer of the Navy, who was expected to be present, and of the Secretary of the Navy, who was invited, it falls to my lot, by the arrangement of the appropriate committee, to respond, in a few words, to the sentiment you have just

The people of the United States may be pardoned a little national vanity, for they are justly proud of the achievements of their navy. It is, and it must necessarily be, their great reliance for defence against foreign aggression.
Situated as the United States are upon this continent,

with its existing relations with the other Powers of America, aggressions are scarcely to be expected. Dangers, if dangers exist at all, are to be apprehended on the ocean,
affecting our commerce and our relations with the great
maritime Powers of the world.

Recently, our commerce has been extending itself into all quarters of the globe; and wherever our commerce goes, there also goes the navy of the United States and the flag of the United States to protect that commerce.

But recently, Mr. President, a new significance has been Heretofore, the navy has been the symbol of our power and the emblem of our liberty, but of humanity and of a noble sympathy for the oppressed of all nations. The home squadron every where, to give protection to the brave and to those who may have fallen in the cause of freedom! [Applause.] Your acquiescence in that sentiment indicates the profound sympathy of the people of the United States for the people of Hungary, manifested in the person of their great chief; and I can conceive of no duty that would be more acceptable to the gallant officers of the navy of the United States except one, and that is, to strike a blow for liberty themselves in a just cause, approved by our Government. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT gave as the next toast:

"THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES: In saluting the illustrious Exile with magnanimous courtesy, as high as it could pay to any Power on earth, it has added grace to the glory of its history." Mr. SHIELDS being loudly called for, responded

to this toast nearly in the following words: Mr. President, being called upon to answer in this ca-I will ask permission of the company, in the name of the Army, to return my humble and respectful thanks, not only for the sentiment which has been expressed, but for

the enthusiasm with which it has been received. Mr. President, I am sorry there is not some one here who is much more entitled to respond to this toast than I am. I am sorry, sir, that I do not see the Chief of the Army here.* [Applause.] He is the man who should respond to this toast. But, in his absence, as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the Senate, permit me to return my thanks to you, sir, as president of this homorable company, for the high and enthusiastic manner in which you have toasted the Army of the United States to-night. And, sir, that army is deserving of that toast. [Applause.] It has brought us safely rars; and it has humbled even that proud, distinguished,

and powerful flag (pointing to the Union Jack) that graces our hall to-night. [Great applause.]

Mr. President, in paying this very high honor to our illustrious guest—this noble Hungarian—let me observe that that army which has been toasted to-night spoke for his reception by the voice of their cannon; and the cannon that spoke there spoke the voice of twenty-five millions of people. [Immenscheering.] Sir, that salute which the American cannon gave the Hungarian exile had a deep meaning in it. It was a significant salute. It was not a salute to the mere man Louis Kossuth, but it was a salute in favor of the great principle which he represents—the principle which he advocates, the principle of nationality and of human liberty. [Applause.] Sir, I was born in a land which has suffered as an oppressed nation. I am now a citizen of a land which would have suffer ed from the same power, had it not been for the bravery, gallantry, and good fortune of the men of that time. Sir, as an Irishman by birth, and an American by adeption, I would feel myself a traitor to both countries if I did not sustain down-trodden nationalities every where [applause]—in Hungary, in Poland, in Germany, in Italy—every where where in Italy—every where where man is trodden down and oppressed. And, sir, I say again, that that army which maintained itself in three wars against one of the great-at and most powerful nations of the world, will, if the # General Scott is absent from the city, in Richmond.

trying time should come again, maintain that same flag, (the stars and stripes) and the same triumph, and the same victories in the cause of liberty. [Great applause.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, I am now about to give you a toast to which every American will corfially respond. I feel and know that while the Hungarian struggle was going on and her flag waved aloft, we rejoiced in her success and mourned in her temporary defeats. [Emotion.] We honored those who were struggling for their nationality-who were struggling for their liberty; who were prepared to sacrifice all, even life itself, to obtain it. We followed our illustrious guest in his mournful exile. We were the first to call upon him to return to the land which was ready to receive him with open arms-the land of liberty, the land of freedom, the land of hospitality. The toast I give you, gentlemen is-"HUNGARY, represented in the person of our honored Guest, having proved herself worthy to be free by the virtues and valor of her sons, the law of nations and the dic tates of justice alike demand that she shall have fair play

in her struggle for independence." This toast was received with tremendous cheers and applause, which lasted several minutes.

M. Kossuth then rose and spoke as follows: SIR: As once Cyneas the Epirote stood among the Se nators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-con-scious majesty, controlled the condition of the world, and arrested mighty kings in their ambitious march—thus, full of admiration and of reverence, I stand amongst you, legislators of the new capitol, that glorious hall of your people's collective majesty. The capitol of old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it, and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands a mournful monument of the fragility of human things: yours, as a sanctuary of eternal right. The old beamed with the red lustre of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy night; yours beams with freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed the world by its own centralized glory; yours protects your own nation against absorption, even by itself. The old was awful with iso-ctricted power; yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled; at the view of yours humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only intro-duced with fettered hands to kneel at triumphant conqueror's heels. To yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles invited to the honor of a seat. And where Kings and Casars never will be hailed for their powers, might, and wealth, there the persecuted chief of a downtrodden nation is welcomed as your great rule. In yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to a vanquished just cause. And, while out of the old a conquered world was ruled, you in yours provide for the common federative interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of the old. There sat men boasting their will to be the sovereign of the world; here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of nature and of nature's God, and to do what their sovereign, the people, wills. Sir, there is history in these parallels. History of past

ages and history of future centuries may be often recorded in few words. The small particulars to which the passion of living men clings with fervent zeal, as if the fragile fingers f men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel, these articulars die away ; it is the issue which makes history, and that issue is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the alpha: they must finish with omega, and they will. Thus history may be told often in few words. Before yet the heroic struggle of Greece first engaged your country's sympathy for the fate of freedom in Europe, then so far distant, and now so near, Chateaubriand happened to be in Athens, and he heard from a minaret raised upon the Propyleum's ruins a Turkish priest in Arabic language announcing the lapse of hours to the Christians of Minerva's town. What immense history in the small

fact of a Turkish Imaun crying out, "Pray, pray! the hour is running fast, and the judgment draws near."

Sir, there is equally a history of future ages written in the honor bestowed by you to my humble self. The first Governer of Independent Hungary, driven from his native land by Russian violence; an exile on Turkish soil, protected by a Mahometan Sultan against the blood-thirst of Christian tyrants; cast back a prisoner to far Asia by liplomacy; rescued from his Asiatic prison by America ssing the Atlantic, charged with the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations; pleading, a poor exile, before the peo-ple of this great Republic, his downtrodden country's wrongs and its intimate connexion with the fate of the European continent, and, with the boldness of a just ause, claiming the principles of the christian religion to e raised to a law of nations; and to see not only the oldness of the poor exile forgiven, but to see him consoled by the sympathy of millions, encouraged by indi-viduals, associations, meetings, cities, and States; supported by operative aid and greeted by Congress ernment as the nation's guest; honored, out of generosity, with that honor which only one man before received, and that man received them out of gratitude; with honors such as no potentate ever can receive; and this banquet here, and the toast which I have to thank you for. Oh! indeed, sir, there is a history of future age cal consequences of principles which are the foundation

of these facts. Sir, though I have the noble pride of my principles, and though I have the inspiration of a just cause, still I have also the consciousness of my personal humility. Never will I forget what is due from me to the sovereign source of my public capacity. This I owe to my nation's dig-nity; and therefore, respectfully thanking this highly distinguished assembly in my country's name, I have the poldness to say that Hungary well deserves your sympathy; that Hungary has a claim to protection because t has a claim to justice. But, as to my own humble self, permit me humbly to express that I am well aware not very instructively connected with a principle valuable and dear to every republican heart in the United States f America

Sir, you were pleased to mention in your toast that I onquered by misfortune and unseduced by ambi-Now, it is a providential fact that misfortune has privilege to ennoble man's mind and to strengthen man's character. There is a sort of natural instinct of human dignity in the heart of man, which steels his very nerves not to bend beneath the heavy blows of great adversities. The palm tree grows best beneath a ponderous weight. Even so the character of man. There is no merit in it. It is a law of psychology. The petty pangs of small daily cares have often bent the character of men, but great misfortune seldom. There is less danger in this than in great luck. And, as to ambition, I indeed never was able to understand how any body can more love ambition than liberty. But I am glad to state a historical fact as a principal demonstration of that influence which institutions exercise upon the character of nations.

We Hungarians are very fond of the principle of muni-

sipal self-government, and we have a natural horror against the principle of centralization. That fond attachment to municipal self-government, without which there is no provincial freedom possible, is a fundamental feature of our national character. We brought it with us from far Asia a thousand years ago, and we conserved it throughout the vicissitudes of ten centuries. No nation has perhaps so much struggled and suffered from the civilized christian world as we. We do not complain of this lot. It may be heavy, but it is not inglorious. Where the cradle of our saviour stood, and where his divine doctrine was founded, there now another faith rules, and the whole of Europe's armed pilgrimage could not avert this fate from that sacred spot, nor stop the rushing waves of Islamism absorbchristian empire of Constantine. We stopped those rushing waves. The breast of my nation proved a breakwater to them. We guarded Christendom, that Luthers and Calvins might reform it. It was a dangerous time, and the dangers of the time often placed the confidence of all my nation into one man's hand, and that confidence gave power into his hands to become ambitious. But there was not a single instance in our history where a man honored by his people's confidence had deceived his people by becoming ambitious. The man out of whom Russian diplomacy succeeded to make the murderer of his nation's confidence—he never had it, but was rather regarded always with distrust. But he gained some vic-tories when victories were the moment's chief necessity. At the head of an army circumstances placed him in the capacity to ruin his country. But he never had the peo-ple's confidence. So even he is no contradiction to the historical truth that no Hungarian whom his nation honored with its confidence was ever seduced by ambition to become dangerous to his country's liberty. That is a remarkable fact, and yet it is not accidental; it is the logical consequence of the influence of institutions upon the national character. Our nation, through all its history, was educated in the school of municipal self-gov-ernment; and in such a country ambition having no field, has also no place in man's character.

The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country—and many they have been, to be sure—we have seen a Convention, a Directorate, Consuls, and one Consul, and an Emperor, and the Restoration, and the Citizen King and the Republic; through all these different experiments entralization was the fundamental tone of the institutions of France—power always centralized; omnipotence always vested somewhere. And, remarkably indeed, France has never yet raised one single man to the seat of power who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal

It is sorrowful, indeed, but it is natural. It is in the

garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm that, in your great country, there exists not a single man through whose brains has ever passed the thought that he would wish to raise the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty, if he could. Such a wish is impossible in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows wind will reap storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws not only the material but the moral world; and every law is a principle, and every principle is a law. Men as well as nations are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that once chosen the consequences must be abided.

With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is

With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is justice and patriotism. With centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells despotism. Happy your great country, sir, for being so warmly addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home to freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy your great country, sir! that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord to prove the glorious practicability of a federative union of many sovereign States, all conserving their State rights and their self-government, and yet united in one—every star beaming with its own lustre, but all

Upon this foundation your free country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period, an attractive power in that your fundamental principle. You have conquered by it more in seventy-five years than Rome by arms in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example of your freedom, welfare, and security mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost. The respect for State-rights in the Federal Government of America, and in its several States, will become an in-structive example for universal toleration, forbearance, and justice to the future States and Republics of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mischievous qu tion of language-nationalities, raised by cunning des-potism in Europe to murder liberty Smaller States will find security in the principle of federative union, while they will conserve their national freedom by the principle of sovereign self-government; and while larger principle of sovereign self-government; and while larger States, abdicating the principle of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation and a tool to ambition of wicked men, municipal institutions will ensure the development of local particular elements; freedom, formerly an abstract political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities; and out of the welfare and contentment of all parts will flow happings and sanguity for the whole

ness, peace, and security for the whole.

That is my confident hope. Then will at once subside fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of Europe, not by melting North Germany into a Southern frame, or the South into a Northern: not by absorbing historical peculiarities by centralized omnipo-tence; not by mixing in one State, but by federating several sovereign States into a Union like yours.

Upon a similar basis will take place the national re-

eneration of Sclavonic States, and not upon the sacrile gious idea of Panslavism, equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar. Upon a similar basis will we see fair Italy independent and free. Not unity, but union will and must become the watchword of national bodies, severed nto desecrated limbs by provincial rivalries, out of which a flock of despots and common servitude arose. To be nailed! sure, it will be a noble joy to this your great Republic to Your feel that the moral influence of your glorious example has operated this happy development in mankind's destiny, nd I have not the slightest doubt of the efficacy of your example's influence.

there is no hope for this happy issue. This indispensable thing is, that the oppressed nations of Europe become the nasters of their future, free to regulate their own domestic concerns. And to this nothing is wanted but to have that "fair play" to all, for all, which you, sir, in your toast, were pleased to pronounce as a right of my nation, alike sanctioned by the law of nations as by the dictates of eternal justice. Without this "fair play" there is no hope for Europe-no hope of seeing your principles

Yours is a happy country, gentlemen. You had more than fair play. You had active operative aid from Europe in your struggle for independence, which, once achieved, you so wisely used as to become a prodigy of freedom

and welfare and a book of life to nations.

But we in Europe—we, unhappily, have no such fair play. With us, against every palpitation of liberty all lespots are united in a common league; and you may be sure that despots will never yield to the moral influence of your great example. They hate the very existence of this xample. It is the sorrow of their thoughts, and the incuof their dreams. To stop its moral influence abroad, and to check its spreading development at home, is what they wish, instead of yielding to its influence.

The Cossack already rules We will have no fair play. by Louis Napoleon's usurpation, to the very borders of the Atlantic ocean. One of your great statesmen—now, to my deep sorrow, bound to the sick bed of far advanced age—[immense sensation]—(alas! that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me) your great statesman told the world thirty years ago that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburgh. What would he say when St. Petersburgh is transferred to Paris, and Europe is but an appendage to Russia?

Alas! Europe can no more secure to Europe fair play Albion only remains; but even Albion casts a sorrowfu glance over the waves. Still we will stand our place. sink or swim, live or die." You know the word; it is your own. We will follow it; it will be a bloody path to Despots have conspired against the world. Terror spreads over Europe, and, anticipating persecution, rules. From Paris to Pesth there is a gloomy silence, like the silence of Nature before the terrors of a hurricane. It is a sensible silence, only disturbed by the thousand-fold rattling of muskets by which Nooleon murders that people which gave him a home when he was an exile, and by to have in all these honors any personal share. Nay, I know that even that which might seem to be personal in your toast, is only an acknowledgment of a historical fact, yery instructively converted with a well aware not the groans of new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna, and Pesth. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters yery instructively converted with the groans of new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna, and Pesth. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. land, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. [Cries of shame! shame! throughout the room.] Well, God's will be done! The heart may break, but duty will be done. We will stand our place, though to us in Europe there be no "fair play." But so much I hope, that no just man on earth can charge me with unbecoming arrogance, when here, on this soil of freedom, I kneel down and raise my prayer to God: "Almighty Father of Humanity, will thy merciful arm not raise a power on earth to protect the law of nations when there are so many to violate it?" It is a prayer, and nothing else. What would remain to the opessed if they were not even permitted to pray? The rest is in the hand of God.

Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no er couraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand, and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you, in your wisdom, will be to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim; and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with sincere reverence, and will go back over the ocean, hopeless perhaps, but my heartfull of admiration, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land.

But one single word even here I may be permitted to ay-only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European continent; and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which those oppressed nations entertain; but, as to your great Republic, as a State, as a Power on earth, I stand before the statesmen, senators, and legislators of that Republic only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of na-tional law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will, by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights. And I hoped, and hope, that, pronouncing their vote, it will be in favor of broad principles of international justice, consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life. That is all. I know, and Europe knows, the immense weight of such a pronunciation from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great Republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own ecurity, its own interest. I rather repeatedly, carnestly declared that a war on this account by your country is utterly impossible, and a mere phantom. I always de-clared that the United States, remaining masters of their action under every circumstance, will act as they judge onsistent with their supreme duties to themselves said, and say, that such a declaration of just principles would ensure to the nations of Europe "fair play" in their struggle for freedom and independence, because the declaration of such a Power as your Republic is will be respected even where it should be not liked; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution and doubled in strength to maintain the decision of their American brethren in their own behalf, with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours. And when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principles of international justice pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's col-lective majesty. So much to guard me against misunderstanding.
Sir, I most fervently thank you for the acknowledg-

ment that my country has proved worthy to be free. Yes, gentlemen, I feel proud at my nation's character, deroism, love of freedom and vitality; and I bow with reverential awe before the decree of Providence which placed my country into a position, that, without its restoation to independence, there is no possibility for free-lom and independence of nations on the European conti-

garden of centralization where the venomous plant of am- | nent. Even what now in France is about to pass proves the truth of this. Every disappointed hope with which Europe looked towards France is a degree more added to the importance of Hungary to the world. Upon our plains were fought the decisive battles for christendom; there will be fought the decisive battle for the independence of nations, for State rights, for international law, and for the manufacture will be fought the decisive will be fought the decisive battle for the independence of nations, for State rights, for international law, and for the manufacture will be fought the decisive when the fought the decisive but the fought the decisive when the fought the decisive the decision of the decis and for democratic liberty. We will live free, or die like men; but should my people be doomed to die, it will be the first whose death will not be recorded as suicide, but as a martyrdom for the world, and future ages will mourn over the sad fate of the Magyar race, doomed to perish, not because we deserved it, but because in the nineteenth century there was nobody to protect the laws f nature and of nature's God. But I look to the future with confidence and with hope.

Adversities manifold of a tempest-tossed life could of course not fail to impress a mark of cheerlessness upon my heart, which, if not a source of joy, is at least a guard against sanguine illusions. I, for myself, would not want the hope of success for doing what is right. To me the sense of duty would suffice; therefore, when I hope, it has nothing common with that desperate instinct of a drowning man, who, half sunk, is still grasping to a straw for help. No, when I hope, there is motive for that hope. I have a steady faith in principles. I dare say that experience taught me the logic of events in connexion with principles. I have fathomed the very bosom of this mystery; and nowhere was I deceived in my calculation. lations thereabout. Once in my life I supposed a principle to exist in a certain quarter where indeed no principle proved to exist. It was a horrible mistake, and resulted in a horrible issue. The present condition of Europe is a very consequence of it. But precisely this condition of Europe proves that I did not wantonly suppose a principle to exist there, where I found none. Would it have existed, the consequences could not have failed to arrive as I have contemplated them. Well, there is a providence in every fact. Without this mistake the principles of American republicanism would have for a long time yet not found a fertile soil on that continent, where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French school. Now matters stand thus: that either the continent of Europe has no future at all, or this future is American republi-canism. And who could believe that two handred mil-lions of that continent, which is the mother of a civili-zation, are not to have any future at all? Such a doubt would be almost blasphemy against Providence. But there is a Providence indeed—a just, a bountiful Providence. I trust with the piety of my religion in it. I dare say my very humble self was a continual instrument of it. How could I else, in such a condition as I was born, not conspicuous by any pre-eminent abilities— having nothing in me more than an iron will, which nothing can bend, and the consciousness of being right—how could I, under the most arduous circumstances, accomplish many a thing which my sense of honest duty prompted me to undertake? Oh, there is indeed a Providence which rules! And even my being here, when four months ago I was yet a prisoner of the league of European despots in far Asia, and the sympathy which your glorious people honors me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of honors me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of your Congress, and the honor to be your guest, to be the guest of your great Republic—I, the poor, humble, unpre-tending exile—is there not a very intelligible manifesta-tion of Providence in it?—the more, when I remember that the name of your humble but thankful guest is, by the furious rage of the Austrian tyrant, to the gallows

Your generosity is a loud protestation of republican principles against despotism. I firmly trust to those principles; and, relying upon this very fact of your genesity, I may be permitted to say that that respectable organ of the free press was mistaken which announced that I considered my coming hither to be a failure.

I confidently trust that the nations of Europe have future. I am aware that this future is contradicted by bayonets of absolutism: but I know that bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon. I trust to the future of my native land, because I know that it is worthy to have it, and that it is necessary to the destinies of hu manity. I trust to the principles of republicanism; and, whatever be my personal fate, so much I know, that my country will conserve to you and your glorious land a everlasting gratitude.

During the delivery of the speech M. Kossuth was often interrupted by tremendous applause and vociferous cheering.

Mr. Gwin rose and said: Mr. President, some gentleman remarked a few moments ago, in parenthesis, "Sink or swim, live or die." Such being my notion, I give you as a toast-

"The SECRETARY OF STATE: His sympathies are as broad as his intellect is profound."

Mr. WEBSTER rose and responded as follows: I have great pleasure in participating in this festival. It is a remarkable occasion. He who is your honored guest to-night has led thus far a life of events that are viewed as highly important here, and still more important to his own country. Educated, spirited, full of a feeling of liberty and independence, he entered early into the public councils of his native country, and he is here to day, fresh from acting his part in the great struggle for Hungarian national independence. That is not distinction. He was brought to these shores by thority of Congress. He has been welcomed to the capital of the United States by the votes of the two houses of

Mr. Saward, (interrupting.) "He is welcome!" and there were loud cries of "Welcome, welcome!" from vari-

ous parts of the house.

Mr. Werster, (resuming.) I agree, as I am not connected with either branch of the Legislature, in joining, and I do join in my loudest tone, in that welcome pronounced by them to him. [Great applause.] The House of Representatives—the immediate Representatives of the People—full themselves of an ardent love of liberty, have oined in that welcome; the wisdom and sobriety of the senate have joined in it; and the head of the Republic, with the utmost cordiality, has approved of whatsoever official act was necessary to bid him welcome to these shores. And he stands here to-night in the midst of an assembly of both Houses of Congress, and others of us met here in our individual capacity, to join the general ac-claim, and signify to him with what pleasure we receive him to the shores of this free land-this asylum of oppressed humanity. [Applause.] Gentlemen, the effect of the reception thus given him cannot but be felt. It cannot but have its influence beyond the ocean and among untries where our principles and our sentiments are either generally unknown or generally disliked. Let them go forth; let it be borne on all the winds of heaven that the sympathies of the Government of the United States and all the people of the United States have been attracted towards a nation struggling for national inde pendence, and towards those of her sons who have most dis inguished themselves in that struggle. [Great applause.]

I have said that this cannot be without its effect. We are too much inclined to underrate the power of moral

influence, and the influence of public opinion, and the in-fluence of principles, to which great men, the lights of the world and of the age, have given their sanction. Who doubts that, in our own struggle for liberty and independence, the majestic eloquence of Chatham, the profound reasoning of Burke, the burning satire and irony of Col. Barrè, had influences upon our fortunes here in America? They had influences both ways. They tended, in the first place, somewhat to diminish the confidence of the British Ministry in their hopes of success in attempting to unhimsely an injured recole. subjugate an injured people. They had influence another way, because all along the coasts of the country—and all our people in that day lived upon the coast—there was not a reading man who did not feel stronger, bolder, and more determined in the assertion of his rights, than when these exhibitanting accounts from the two Houses of Parliament reached him from beyond the seas. He felt that those who held and controlled public opinion elsewhere were with us; that their words of eloquence might pro-

its own arnestly intry is with the control of the earth. There is not a monarch on earth whose throne is not liable to be shaken by the progress of opinion, and the sentiment of the just and intelligent part of the people. It becomes us in the station which we hold to let that public opinion, so far as we form it, have a free ourse. [Bravo, bravo,] Let it go out; let it beyon where be proclaimed what we of this great Republic thing of the general principle of human liberty and of that oppression which all abhor. [Applause.] Depend upon it ratic power maintained by arms until decrease.

was too young to be in political life, I repeat to night, verbum post verbum, exactly what I said then. [Great applause.] What I said of Spain at a later period, when the power of the restored Bourbons was exerted to impose upon Spain a dynasty not wished by the people of Spain, that I repeat in English, and Spanich, and French, and in every other language, if they choose to translate it.

Applicase.]
May I be so egotistical as to say that I have nothing now to say upon the subject of Hungary? Gentlemen, is the autumn of the year before last, out of health, and retired to my paternal home among the mountains of New Hampshire, I was, by reason of my physical condition, confined to my house; but I was among the mountains whose native air I was born to inspire. Nothing saluted my senses, nothing saluted my mind or my sentiments, but freedom, full and entire, [applause;] and there, gentlemen, near the grave of my ancestors, I wrote a letter, which most of you may have seen, addressed to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. [Great applause, which was continued for some time.] I can say nothing of the ability displayed in that letter; but, as to its principles, while the sun and moon endure, and while I can see the light of the sun and the moon, I stand by them. [Great applause.] In a let-ter dated February last, moved by these considerations, which have influenced all the Christian world, making no particular merit of it, I addressed a letter to the American Minister at Constantinople, at the Court of the Sub-lime Porte, for the relief of M. Louis Kossuth and his companions in exile; and I happen to know that that letter was not without some effect. At any rate, it is proper for me here to say, that this letter and that one to which I have before alluded, were dispatched with the cordial approbation of the President of the United States. It was, therefore, so far the act of the Government of the United States in its executive capacity. Now, I shall not further advert to these topics to-night, nor shall I go-back to ancient times and discuss the provisions of the Holy Alliance; but I say that in the sentiments avowed-by me, I think in the year 1823 and 1824, in the cause of Greece, and in the more subsequent declarations of opinion, there is that which I can never depart from without departing from myself. I should cease to be what am, if I were to retract a single sentiment which has been

m, if I were to these several occasions.

Now, gentlemen, I do not propose, at this hour of the Now, gentlemen, I do not propose, at this hour of the night, to entertain you, or to attempt to entertain you, by any general disquisition upon the value of human freen, upon the inalienable general topics of that kind; but I wish to say a few words upon the precise question, as I understand it; that exists before the civilized world, between Hungary and the Austrian Government. I wish to arrange the thoughts to which I desire to give utterance under two or three general

And in the first place I say, that wherever there is in the Christian and civilized world a nationality of character—wherever there exists a nation of sufficient knowledge and wealth and population to constitute a Gov ment, then a National Government is a necessary and proper result of nationality of character. We may talk of it as we please, but there is nothing that satisfies the human mind in an enlightened age unless he is governed by his own country and the institutious of his own Government. No matter how easy be the yoke of a foreign Power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulde if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation and of his own country, he will not, he cannot, and he means

not to be happy under its burden. [Applause.]

There is, gentlemen, one great element of human hap
piness mixed up with others. We have our social affec tions—our family affections; but then we have this senti-ment of country which imbues all our hearts, and enters into all our other feelings; and that sentiment of country is an affection not only for the soil on which we are bern, it not only appertains to our parents and sisters and brothers and friends, but to our habits and institutions, and to the Government of that country in all respect There is not a civilized and intelligent man on earth that enjoys entire satisfaction in his condition, if he does not live under the government of his own nation—his own country, whose volitions and sentiments and sympathies are like his own. Hence he cannot say "This is not my country; it is the country of another Power; it is a coun nging to somebody else." Therefore, I say that wherever there is a nation of sufficient intelligence and numbers and wealth to maintain a government, distinguished in its character and its history and its institutions, that nation cannot be happy but under a govern-

ment of its own choice. [Applause.]

Then, sir, the next question is whether Hungary, as she exists in our ideas, as we see her, and as we know her, is distinct in her nationality, is competent in her population, is also competent in her knowledge and devo-tion to correct sentiment, is competent in her national capacity for liberty and independence to maintain a Goverament that shall be Hungarian out and out? Upon that subject gentlemen, I have no manner of doubt. Let us look a little at the position in which this matter stands. What is Hungary? I am not, gentlemen, about to fatigue you with a long statistical statement; but I wish to say that, as I understand the matter, and I have taken some pains to look at it, Hungary contains a suf-

ficient population to constitute a nation.

The following enumeration of the races that constitute the population of Hungary is taken from one of the latest and most authoritative publications of Austrian statistics,

Hrwo	ARY, fi	noticed.	ina 1	You wit	is and	QL.	ania .
Magyars	ani, i	actua.	ing c	roate	и ана	Stav	4,281,500
Slowacks	1000		1		2,200,	ann	4,201,000
Russninks	100		30				
Servians		*			350,		
					740,		
Croatians					660,000 50,000		
Slavonians,							
Bulgarians a	and oth	hers	3		12,	800	
Slavonians,	total				117		4,012,800
Germans		32					986,000
Wallachians	1	-		-10	100	RSS	980,000
Jews .	1					10.5	250,000
Greeks and	others	1			1		62,500
J. Jens Han	Janera		-				02,000
							10,522,800
		TRA	NSYL	VANI	۸.		
Magyars		*					260,170
Szeklers					15		260,000
Germans							250,000
Wallachians							1,287,340
Others .		*					60,400
							2,117,910
	M	ILITA	RY I	RONT	TERS		
Magyars							54,000
Croatians					692,960		
Servians					203,000		31 95 17
Slavonians,	total				1012		895,960
Germans		S.					185,500
Wallachians				100	1 500		100,000
·· musculans					151		100,000
	_	all _					1,235,460
	TOTA	LS F	DR A	LL H	NGAR	Y	
Magyars			-	-			4,605,670
Slavonians					177-19		4,905,760
Germans	-		1	- 10			1,421,500
Wallachians		1					2,317,340
And the second second	100	700				7	W. S.

Grand total 13,876,170 By a still more recent account, taken from the official statistics of Austria, it appears that Hungary, including Transylvania and Military Frontiers, has 112,000 square miles, with 14,500,000 inhabitants, and contains—

Cities Towns . 16,000 9,000,000

where be proclaimed what we of this great Republic think of the general principle of human liberty and of that oppression which all abhor. [Applause.] Depend upon it gentlemen, that between these two rival powers, the autocratic power maintained by .arms and force, and the popular power maintained by .arms and force, and the popular power maintained by opinion, the former is constantly increasing. [Applause.] Real human liberty and thuman rights are gaining the ascendant; and the part which we have to act in all this great drama is to show ourselves in favor of those rights, to uphold our ascendency, and to carry it on until we shall see it culminate in the highest heaven over our heads. [Applause.] On the topics, gentlemen, which this occasion seems to invite! I have nothing to say, because in the course of my political life—not now a short one—I have said all that I wish to transmit to posterity connected with my own name and history. What I said of Greece twenty-five years ago, when our friend of Greece twenty-five years ago, when our friend of that opposition, the former is continued that the remarkable that, on the western coasts of Europe, gentlemen, it is remarkable that, on the western coasts of Europe, gentlemen, that sun sheds his light on those functional that sun sheds his light on those two political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There is a sun in the political light exists. There i

practicability of Hungarian liberty and independence are discussed. It ought to be known that Hungary stands out from it above her neighbors in all that respects free institutions, constitutional government, and a hereditary love of liberty. [Applau. e.]

Gentlemen, I have taken the pains to prepare some facts from an intelligent write v, and that writer is a lady. She must of course be great aut. vority. She says:

"The Hungarian nation has been distinguished from its

facts from an intelligent write ', and that writer is a lady. She must of course be great aut. tority. 'She says:

"The Hungarian nation has been' distinguished from its first appearance in history for uniting ', o a passionate love of liberty a scrupulous reverence for law. The Magyars did not enter the plains of Dacia an undisciplinea' rabble. From the first, they possessed a fixed form of Govern uent, and were distinguished for their subordination to their 'leaders and their laws. To these habits of discipline, in which the Magyars were trained, to their love of order and regard for law, it is to be ascribed that they did not pass away, like the com 'uen hordes of barbarian adventurers, but established a permane at kingdom in the country they invaded. To these qualities, not less than to their courage, is to be ascribed their successful ma. utenance of their constitutional rights against all the attacks of a Power before which the liberties of so many other nations have fallen.

"The ancient institutions of the Magyars were eminently democratic. Their chief ruler was elected by the votes of the people. For the first century after their establishment in the country he received only the title of Feafe, or leader. In the year 1000 they bestowed the title of Feafe, or leader. In the family of Arpad, the leader under whose guidance they had entered Pannonia. The power of the King was, however, strictly limited. The consent of the people was necessary to give etheacy to every royal act. The excellent prince who first filled the throne of Hungary had no disposition to infringe the liberties of the people. On the contrary, he endeavored to guard them against the encroachments of future sovereigns. He framed a code of laws, founded on the sancient institutions of the Magyars, which have ever since been 'regarded as of the highest authority. These statutes were drawn up for the guidance of his son Emeric, whom he educated as his successor in the kingdom. The enlightened and Sumane sp irit in which these decrees are co

It is in the following terms that he prescribes the duty of a King towards bis subjects: "Let them be to thee, my son, as brothers and father 's; reduce none of them to servitude, neither call them thy say vants. Let them fight for the; not serve thee. Govern them we thout violence and without pride—peacefully, humbly, human tely. Remembering that nothing elevates but humility, that nothing abuses but pride and an evil will.

Advance but pride and an evil will.

"My son, I pray thee, I command thee, to show thyself a pitious, not only to thy kindred, not only to princes, to leasers, to the rich, nor only to thy country people, but likewise t strangers, and to all that some unto thes. Be patient with all not only with the powerful, but with those lacking power. Bear ever in thy mind this precept of the Lord, "I will have not not applied."

mercy, and not sacrifice.' He recognises the right of the people to depose an unworthy prince:

"If thou art mild and just, then shalt thou be called a Kingand the son of a King; but if thou art proud and violent, the will deliver thy kingdom to another."

The princes of this dynasty, (the house of Arpad,) with few exceptions, were just and patriotic Kings, who under-stood the origin and true objects of government, and held their power for the benefit of the people, net for their own selfish aggrandizement. There are traits recorded of many selfish aggrandizement. There are traits recorded of many of them which prove them to have been the worthy successors of St. Stephen. "The Republic is not mine," said Géza II, "it is I who belong to the Republic. God has raised me to the throne in order that I may maintain the laws." In 1222 Andrew II. issued the celebrated code of statutes known by the name of the "Golden Bull," by which the decrees of St. Stephen were confirmed and some new laws added to them, designed to secure yet further the liberties of the people. The Golden Bull has been termed a charter of aristocratic privileges. It was so in the same sense that the great charter of English liberties may be called so. The Golden Bull corresponds very closely to the Magna Charta of King John, both in its provisions and as regards the class of persons whose liberties

it was designed to protect.

As to St. Stephen, I will not say how he ought to stand as a Christian, but will say that on the political, and espe-cially on the Royal Kalendar, he ought to be regarded as a saint, and to have a day strongly marked in red letters.

Mr. Seward, (interposing.) "Three cheers for St. Ste-The cheers were accordingly given.

Mr. Websten, (continuing.) Gentlemen, my senti-ments in regard to this effort made by Hungary are here sufficiently well expressed. In a memorial addressed to Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, said to have been written by Lord Fitzwilliam, and signed by him and several other Peers and members of Parliament, the following language is used, the object of the memorial being to ask the mediation of England in favor of Hungary:

"While so many of the nations of Europe have engaged in "While so many of the nations of Europe have engaged in revolutionary movements, and have embarked in schemes of doubtful policy and still more doubtful success, it is gratifying to the undersigned to be able to assure your Lordships that the Hungarians demand nothing but the recognition of ancient rights and the stability and integrity of their ancient constitution. To your Lordships it cannot be unknown that that constitution bears a striking family resemblance to that of our own country."

own country. Gentlemen, I have one other reference to make, and then I shall take leave of you.

You know, gentlemen, that in "Measure for Measure," Shakspeare, speaking of the Duke of Vienna, says: "If the King of Hungary, why then all the dukes fall upon

the king." "Heaven grant us peace," says another character; "thou concludest," says the first speaker, "like the sanctimonious pirate that went to sea with the ten commandments, but scraped one out of the table—thou shalt not steal! Aye, that he razed." "Why, 'twas s commandment to command the captain and all the rest from their functions; there is not a soldier of us all that, in the thanksgiving before meat, doth relish the petition well that prays for peace." Now, I am afraid that, like the Dukes of Austria in former times, the Emperor of Austria in our times deth not relish the petition for peace, unless it be founded on

the utter extermination of the nationality of Hungary. Gentlemen, I have said that a National Government

where there is a distinct nationality, is essential to hu-man happiness. I have said that, in my opinion, Hungary is thus capable of human happiness. I have said that she possesses that distinct nationality, that power of po-pulation, and that wealth, which entitles her to have a Government of her own; and I have now to add what I am sure will not sound well upon the Upper Danube; and that is, that, in my humble judgment, the imposition of a foreign yoke upon a people capable of self-government, while it oppresses and depresses that people, adds nothing to the strength of those who impose that yoke. [Great applause.] In my opinion, Austria would be a better and a stronger Government to-morrow if she confined the limits of he power to her hereditary and German dominions.

power to her hereditary and German dominions.

Mr. Seward. True; true.

Mr. Webster, (continuing.) Especially if she saw in Hungary a strong, sensible, independent neighboring nation; because I think that the cost of keeping Hungary quiet is not repaid by any benefit derived from Hungarian levies or tributes. And then, again, good neighborhood, and the good will and generous sympathies of mankind, and the generosity of character that ought to pervade the minds of Governments as well as those of individuals, is wastly more promoted by living in a state of friendship. vastly more promoted by living in a state of friendship and amity with those who differ from us in modes of government, than by any attempt to consolidate power in the hands of one over all the rest.

hands of one over all the rest.

Gentlemen, the progress of things is unquestionably onward. It is onward with respect to Hungary. It is onward every where. Public opinion, in my estimation at least, is making great progress. It will penetrate all resources; it will come more or less to animate all minds; and, in respect to that country, for which our sympathies to night have been so strongly invalid. to-night have been so strongly invoked, I cannot but say that I think the people of Hungary are enlightened, industrious, sober, well inclined community; and I wish only to add, that I do not now enter into any discussion of the form of government which may be proper for Hun-gary. Of course, all of you, like myself, would be glad to see her, when she becomes independent, embrace that system of government which is most acceptable to our-selves. We shall rejoice to see our American model upon the Lower Danube, and on the mountains of Hungary But that is not the first step. It is not that which will be our first prayer for Hungary. That first prayer shall be that Hungary may become independent of all foreign power, [great applause;] that her destinies may be entrusted to her own hands, and to her own discretion. [Renewed applause.] I do not profess to understand the social relations and connexions of races, and of twenty other things. things that may affect the public institutions of Hungary All I say is, that Hungary can regulate these matters for herself infinitely better than they can be regulated for her by Austria, [applause;] and therefore I limit my as-pirations for Hungary, for the present, to that single and

mr. Seward. Hungarian independence:

Mr. Seward. Hungarian independence! [Applause.]

Mr. Webster. Hungarian self-government; Hungarian control of Hungarian destinics. [Renewed applause.]

These are the aspirations which I entertain, and I give them to you therefore the property of the